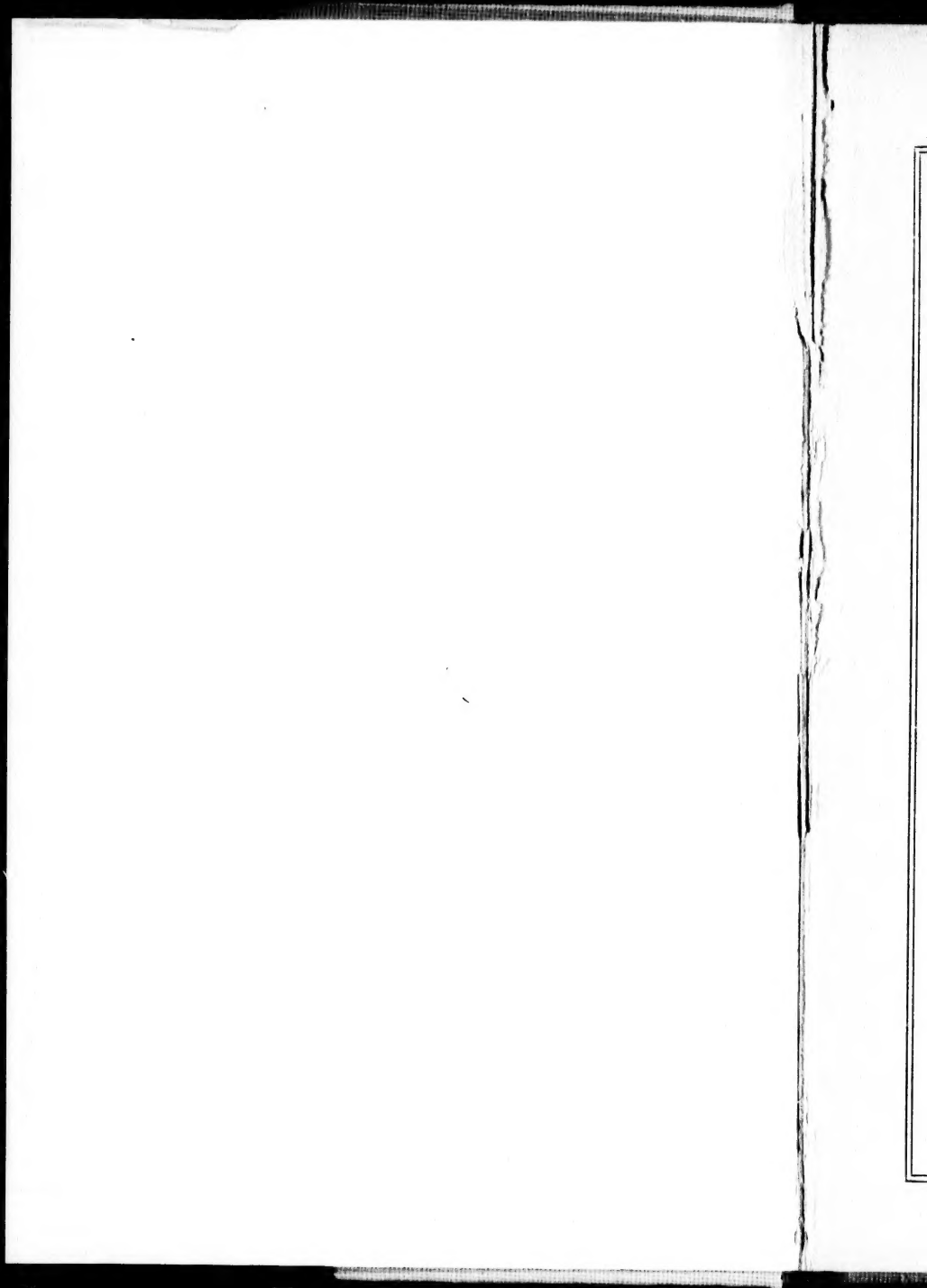




THE
REORGANIZATION
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

BY
GOLDWIN SMITH.

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1868.

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The Reorganization of the University of Oxford.

I HAVE been for many years engaged, in different capacities, in the reorganization of the University, and have been in constant intercourse with those who took the leading part in the work ; and it has occurred to me that my thoughts upon our present situation, briefly set down, may possibly be of use, if only as an outline of the subject, to some who are now engaged as I have been. My own connection with the University having almost ceased, I may be sure at least of speaking in the general interest, not from any sectional point of view.

I shall assume that, though the promotion of learning and science may be the highest function of the University, its direct function, in the present day, is Education ; and that educational duties ought to be attached to our emoluments. It appears to me that the expenditure of public money in sinecures for the benefit of persons professedly devoted to learning and science has been decisively condemned by experience. What have been the fruits of sinecurism in the case of the Chapters, of the Headships at Oxford, or even at Cambridge where the Heads have been better elected, of the Canonries of Christ Church

unless connected with Professorships? Have they borne any reasonable proportion to the revenues expended? In the instances where a sinecure has been held by a distinguished man, did he become distinguished on his sinecure and by reason of his holding it, or was he distinguished before his appointment to it? Intellectual labour is not so different from all other kinds of labour as to be stimulated by that by which any other kind of labour would be paralysed. The motives which, in fact, impel men to undergo severe intellectual effort, to write books or carry on scientific investigations, are very various and very mixed, being often undistinguishable from the ordinary desire of profit and love of distinction, both of which inducements the system of sinecures removes or greatly enfeebles, and seldom soaring so high as the pure desire of truth, which alone will make a man work hard when his income and his position are secure.

In like manner, the conditions under which, in the present state of society, literary and scientific men arise, are too various to be artificially created with certainty, or anything approaching to certainty, in a given place. Much of the language held on this subject is in truth anachronistic. We are not living in the Middle Ages, when it might be necessary to draw men at any cost out of a half-barbarous population, engrossed by war, unscientific husbandry, or petty trade, to the only place where intellectual pursuits could be carried on. Modern society has a multitude of callings and positions more or less intellectual, more or less favour-

able to the pursuit of literature and science. The high education of all those who are to enter such callings and hold such positions is likely to promote learning and advance science much more than the books occasionally written by the holders of sinecure preferment. It is easy to exaggerate the service done by writing a single book as compared with that done by increasing the general intelligence through the effective discharge of educational duties.

Those who propound schemes of learned and scientific sinecurism generally think it enough to throw out a hint as to the mode in which the representatives of learning and science are to be appointed. But this is the fundamental question. What man or board can be entrusted with the power over national intellect which the exercise of such patronage would confer? So long as an office has fixed duties there is some security for the election of at least a competent person; but in the case of sinecures this check is removed, and the very offices to which the patronage is attached become on that account themselves the objects of cupidity and intrigue, so that the purity of election is vitiated at the source.

If a wrong choice is made, it is not only a negative injustice but a positive discouragement to those who are rejected. Society will not pay twice over for the same thing, either in money or in honour.

These schemes, also, in permanently fixing the relative endowments of the different studies, assume a knowledge of the future requirements of learning and science which we do not in fact possess. Subjects

highly endowed may in course of time be worked out, as seems likely to be the case with classical philology before long: while others may call for increased recognition, which, under so stereotyped a system, they will with difficulty obtain. Thus the course of intellectual effort may be distorted and its progress actually retarded by schemes, which, at the time when they are framed, seem most comprehensive and enlightened.

Experience seems to show that the best way in which the University can promote learning and advance science is by allowing its teachers, and especially the holders of its great Professorial chairs, a liberal margin for private study; by this, by keeping its libraries and scientific apparatus in full efficiency and opening them as liberally as possible, by assisting through its Press in the publication of learned works which an ordinary publisher would not undertake, and by making the best use of its power of conferring literary and scientific honours. The Press, if successfully conducted, might perhaps afford a limited sum in pensions to men who have done unremunerative work for learning and science, which the Delegacy, being officially conversant with the claims of such men, would be a proper body to bestow.

Sinecurism can plead no historical title to the Fellowships. They were given for the support of Students going through the long course of Academical Education which led up to the Doctor's degree. It appears by the College Statutes that the Fellows were expected at the end of their Academical course to take bene-

fices ; and I am told by those who are best acquainted with the old College accounts, that the evidence of those accounts is against the supposition that many Fellows ended their days in College.

The University of Oxford was in its earlier days like the Continental Universities, a place of general study, professional as well as liberal, having besides the liberal Faculty of Arts, which formed the foundation of the course, the superior and professional Faculties of Theology, Law, and Medicine. It was open to all comers, who lived where they pleased, subject only to its general discipline, though most of them, it seems, were gathered into Halls, with a graduate at their head. The instruction was carried on in the public schools, and under the public teachers and Moderators of the University. The officers of the University, its Chancellor and Proctors, were elective ; and the legislative power was vested in and freely exercised by the Convocation, which, even if non-residents had the right of voting, we may safely pronounce to have been a resident Academical body in the days when strict residence was required up to the time of the Doctor's degree, and when the absence of a post, combined with the difficulty of travelling, would have made it practically impossible to bring up non-residents to vote on any particular question.

In this University, Colleges were founded for the support and stricter government of poor students. These Colleges in course of time increasing in number

and wealth, by a very natural process, absorbed the University, which at last became merely their Federal bond. The Federation retained the examinations, the degrees, the discipline of the streets, and nominally the instruction ; but really the instruction passed into the hands of the several Colleges, partly, perhaps, in consequence of the decline of the Scholastic Philosophy, which formed the staple of the old Academical system, and the rise of the Classical studies, which the Colleges took up. Ultimately no one was allowed to be a member of the University without being a member of a College.

The Colleges in thus absorbing the University saddled it with their mediæval statutes, with the local and family preferences which founders had thought themselves at liberty to indulge in the selection of literary almsmen, but which were fatal to the fair bestowal of prizes, or the right selection of tutors ; with restrictions on the possession of property suitable only to eleemosynary institutions ; with the mediæval rule of celibacy ; with clericism, which assumed a new significance when the clergy, from being a great estate embracing all the intellectual callings, became at the Reformation, in the strict sense, a profession, animated by strong professional feelings, and placed in constant antagonism to Dissent ; with a mediæval rule of life and a mediæval rule of study, which growing obsolete, and being inevitably cast aside, notwithstanding the oaths taken to observe them, left nothing but sinecurism in their place. The conjoint operation of celibacy, clericism, and sinecurism reduced the educational staff of the

Colleges (which, the Professoriate having fallen into total decay, was also that of the University) to a few clergymen waiting in College for College livings, and filling up the interval by a perfunctory discharge of the duties for which they received Tutors' fees. All studies but those connected with the clerical profession, or adopted by the clergy—that is to say, the learned languages and divinity—fell into decay. The Faculties of Law and Medicine dwindled to shadows, the substance departing to the Inns of Court and the London Hospitals. Even the Faculty of Theology itself, the Anglican Church having developed no scientific theology to replace that of the Middle Ages, became almost a name.

The connection between Church and State cut us off from the Nonconformists, a growing element in the nation; and in addition to this, clericism bound us to the political party to which the clergy were allied, and which, at the same time, as the party opposed to change, was most congenial to the holders of large sinecure endowments.

It was mainly the exclusively clerical character of the University that shut the door against Science. At Cambridge, through a combination of historical accidents, the clerical spirit was less strong, and a turn had been given to study, at a critical moment, by Newton.

The Constitution of the University meantime was subverted in three ways. (1.) Laud, confirming an arrangement made under Leicester, took away the initiative in legislation from the Convocation and vested it

in the Board of Heads of Houses, men elected by close Colleges, themselves without educational duties, and by their social position estranged from such educational activity as there might be in the place. (2.) The Vice-Chancellorship, which, the Chancellor being now a non-resident grandee, was really the chief office of the University, was made rotatory among the Heads of Houses, and the University was thus deprived of the power of electing its own head. (3.) Through the system of dispensations and the disregard of the College Statutes respecting residence, Convocation became to a much greater extent non-resident, while the facilities of communication and locomotion having increased, non-resident members began to come up more frequently to vote; and thus the University fell under the control of a non-resident and Non-Academical body, mainly clerical, and using its power for the objects of the political and ecclesiastical party to which the clergy belonged. Railroads have greatly intensified the last-mentioned evil.

The constitutions of the separate Colleges also tacitly underwent a momentous change. The Head was originally everywhere a celibate, living with the Fellows. In the case of the Colleges founded before the Reformation it was not necessary to bind him expressly to celibacy, because he was always a priest, and a priest could not be married; in the Colleges founded after the Reformation he was expressly bound. The Heads, however, of the earlier Colleges took advantage of the legal flaw; those of the later got the restriction repealed; the original lodgings in the

tower were exchanged for a separate and domestic house, and thus the Head of each College became socially severed from his Fellows, and the whole order from the University at large, almost absolute power over which it at the same time acquired.

The result of these untoward accidents, combined with the general deadness of public duty during the greater part of the last century, was not only torpor but corruption within the University itself, and fatal estrangement from the nation. The effect upon the character of our governing class, bred up here in ignorance and Jacobitism, was calamitous at the time, and has not yet been effaced.

At the beginning of the present century, with the general ferment of opinion and revival of public duty, came University Reform. The examinations for the B.A. degree were again made a reality, and a class list in Classics and Mathematics was instituted. In two or three Colleges, where there were no local or family restrictions, the Fellowships and Scholarships were thrown open to competition; and thus Balliol especially became a good place of education.

But the limits of self-reform were soon reached. The Statutes of Colleges were legally unalterable, the Laudian Statutes were practically so, since the Board of Heads could not be expected to initiate any measure of emancipation; while the holders of close Fellowships, who constituted an overwhelming majority in the place, could scarcely be blamed for being unfriendly to Reform. An appeal was therefore made to the Liberal Government of the day, which first issued

a Commission of Inquiry, and when that Commission had reported, passed an Act carrying out directly some reforms in the University, and, as to the Colleges, laying down certain objects to be effected in the first instance by the Colleges themselves, which were empowered to amend their Statutes for those purposes, and upon their default, by an Executive Commission. The Act was materially damaged, and narrowly escaped being rendered unworkable by the attacks of the Conservative Opposition; and the Commission, besides having a strong Conservative and Ecclesiastical element in itself, was beset by the vetoes which were given to all the bodies upon which it had to operate. At that time, moreover, many things which are seen now were not seen, and with regard to others, opinion, even among the most advanced Reformers, was not ripe.

The Act broke up the Laudian oligarchy of Heads of Houses, by substituting for the Board of Heads an elective Council; and it gave the University a resident legislature which was intended also to be Academical, but the Academical character of which was impaired by an amendment moved for party purposes by a High Church Conservative, and importing into Congregation all the city clergy and other residents unconnected with education. It failed to restore the freedom of initiative to the legislative body. It failed to restore to the University freedom in the choice of its Head. It failed to emancipate Academical legislation from the control of the non-Academical Convocation.

An amendment introduced into the Act abolished the tests for matriculation and for the B.A. degree, but left in force the tests for the higher degrees, and the declaration of Conformity to the Liturgy required by the Act of Uniformity of Fellows and Professors.

In the Colleges the Commissioners opened the Fellowships and most of the Scholarships to competition. This was their great achievement, which, besides its direct and obvious benefits in stimulating industry and securing better Tutors, placed the Colleges in the hands of intelligence, and of men owing allegiance to education, and comparatively friendly to further reforms, though still, perhaps, not entirely free from bias as the holders of sinecure endowments. The value of the Scholarships was greatly increased. A large proportion of the Fellowships in every College was made tenable by laymen. The obsolete rules of life and study, with a mass of other obsolete provisions of the Statutes, were swept away, and power was given to the Colleges of amending their Statutes for the future. On the other hand, the Commission failed to deal with celibacy; it failed to deal with sinecurism; rather it ratified sinecurism by abrogating the old rule of residence and the other ancient duties of a Fellow, and enacting nothing in their place. It left the Colleges without any security for the residence even of a sufficient number of Fellows to form the College staff. It failed also to deal with the Headships, leaving them without any fixed duties, and in the same isolated and awkward position as before with regard to the body of the College.

A step was taken by the Commission, acting under the directions of the Act, towards the restoration of the University instruction, by the reorganization to a certain extent of the Professoriate, and by exacting from some of the wealthier Colleges contributions to the payment of Professors. But the work was in every respect incompletely done, the authority of the Commissioners being very limited, while it was quite beyond their power to settle the relations between Tutors and Professors, and thus to reconstitute the instruction on a University basis.

Thus, besides some grave questions as to the new constitution of the University, and the question of tests for the higher degrees, and of religious restrictions on the tenure of Professorships and Fellowships, the questions of celibacy, of sinecurism, of the utilization or abolition of the Headships, of the reorganization of instruction, are still left on our hands. At the same time, and partly owing to the long torpor of the Universities, other questions are heavily in arrear. The subject-matter of liberal education has not been revised for three centuries, and in that interval the Classics, once the sole depositories of all knowledge and culture, have sunk in value, and modern Science has come into existence. University Extension is urgently demanded; and the educational institutions of the country generally, of which the Universities are or ought to be the heads and centres, are in course of reorganization, and this under the pressure of political fear.

Such I take to be the broad outline of the situation

with which we have to deal. It involves problems very difficult in themselves and entangled with each other. To suggest a complete solution of all these problems at once is quite beyond my power. They must be solved, as it seems to me, gradually, by men guiding the councils of the University in a statesmanlike spirit, with full knowledge of the educational circumstances of the time, and an entire devotion to Academical interests. On the ascendancy of such men for the next twenty years the fate of academical education will depend.

I will briefly touch on the chief points; first, however, stating my belief that as this is a University of Colleges, a University of Colleges it will remain; that though, for the sake of the Colleges themselves, all monopolies ought to be abolished, no attempt to restore the old uncollegiate University can be successful on the ground occupied by these great foundations, with their wealth, their name, their social advantages; and that the rational objects whereat to aim are the extension of the Colleges, in number or accommodation, and their consolidation, without loss of their individuality, or of the emulation of which it is the spring, into a University, employing their combined resources for the common good. To treat their ascendancy as an encroachment, and to propagate expectations of the revival of a University in which they will again be mere private foundations is, I apprehend, futile; and such language is calculated only to drive them back more than ever into their noxious isolation.

To take, first, the questions affecting the Colleges internally.

The Commission has left the Fellowships mere prizes, prizes of two or three hundred a-year during life or celibacy for success in youthful competitions. There is a growing opinion that this is not a provident or justifiable use of public money. In fact, prizes of such magnitude are positively hurtful: they not only over-stimulate youthful effort, but they secure to the studies to which they are attached, and which in this instance are almost exclusively Classics and Moral Philosophy, a preponderance quite disproportioned to their intrinsic value, or to their place in rational opinion. I believe, also, that general experience proves these sinecures terminable only on marriage to be clogs rather than wings to those whom they are supposed to assist in their professional career. What is still more indisputable is, that before a penny is spent in sinecurism of any kind, a proper staff of teachers should be secured to the College. At present a College may be left destitute of teachers, while the revenues, for the employment of which it is held responsible by public opinion, are being spent for private purposes elsewhere. This particular evil is rather aggravated by the opening of the Fellowships to competition and the increase of the number of lay Fellows; because able laymen, having no College livings in prospect, go off to seek their fortune in the world.

The most obvious course is to divide the Fellowships for the future into two classes — Teacher Fellowships and Prize Fellowships; the former class, with the pre-

sent or increased incomes, bound to strict residence and to the performance of educational duties; the latter class, with reduced incomes, but without any obligation to reside or other compulsory duty.

It would seem that in this case the educational government of the College ought to be vested entirely in the Teaching Fellows.

The Fellows are at present all elected by examination. If the Fellowships were divided in the manner proposed, the election to the Prize Fellowships would be by examination; but the Teacher Fellows would be chosen by educational qualifications, and without limit, statutable or practical, in respect of age: so that the Colleges and the University would no longer be confined, in the choice of teachers, to those who happened to have won a Fellowship immediately after taking the B.A. degree, to the exclusion of all whose educational powers may have been later developed.

The question of celibacy is difficult, because the present rule is embodied not only in Statutes but in stone; the College buildings being adapted not to domestic but to cœnobitic life. Still it must be dealt with, if these institutions are to be adapted to the requirements of our time. Celibacy, in an ascetic age, might or might not be what it professed to be: but deferred marriage is not celibacy; nor has a society of men, waiting for the means of marrying, the characteristic qualities of a celibate brotherhood. Celibacy puts the Colleges and the University into the hands of young men, and of men who are continually changing, so that teaching and management are in a perpetual state of flux;

while it is vain to expect thorough devotion to a calling which holds out no hope of permanent support. These evils, with the uncertainty and restlessness which must often be produced in the lives of the Fellows themselves by their unsatisfactory position, far more than counterbalance, I apprehend, any advantages arising from the enthusiasm of young Tutors, or their sympathy with their pupils. In fact, to have real influence on pupils of the age of Oxford undergraduates a man ought to know something of character and of the world.

As to the Prize Fellowships, the holders of which are not to be required to reside in College, it would be obvious to substitute for the limit of celibacy a term of years. The Stowell Fellowship of University is already held for seven years without restriction on marriage. I should myself be inclined to go further. Holding that the revenues of this place belong to education, I would maintain students out of them only during the educational course, including in that term the full period of professional as well as of liberal study, whether completed at Oxford, or, with the sanction of the University, elsewhere. The power of electing to Honorary Fellowships will enable Colleges to continue all the social privileges of a Fellow, and the conveniences of the College as a place of study, to members who had ceased to receive a stipend out of the endowments.

As regards the Fellows forming the College staff, the question is not so easily settled. Perhaps all that can be said here is that the object to be secured is not celi-

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bacy, but residence in College; that no restrictions on marriage ought to be retained unless marriage is incompatible with residence; and that provision ought, as soon as possible, to be made for the residence of the College staff under the conditions of modern and domestic life in houses within or adjoining the College. For one College officer at least besides the Head, provision of this kind ought to be made without delay.

The pseudo-eleemosynary restrictions on the possession of property, which the Commissioners have left in nominal deference to mediæval pauperism and asceticism, would be equally inappropriate in the case of the Prize and of the Teacher Fellowships.

With the Headships the Commission did nothing beyond opening them to the members of other Colleges, and making a permissive provision for superannuation; two enactments which will be equally illusory so long as these pieces of preferment remain without fixed duties. But without fixed duties they cannot be suffered to remain. In their present state they are not only often a waste of money, but incentives to intrigue and cabal injurious to the character and efficiency of the College. In former days the Heads had work in abundance; the management of the Fellows and Scholars, young peasants, rough and turbulent enough as we may be sure, and the guardianship of the College estates when law was weak and there were no regular agents: they ought now to have work assigned them suitable to the present circumstances and functions of the College, the superintendence of its moral discipline, and a share in its education. There are some

who would go the length of abolishing the Headships as distinct offices, and give one of the Fellows an additional stipend for acting as Head. But it would be dangerous under the present system to do away with this element of fixity and experience, and to leave Colleges in the hands of the fleeting succession of young Fellows. On the other hand, if the Fellows were married men, and permanently settled in College, the necessity for a Headship as a separate office, with a much larger stipend and a very distinct position, would certainly cease.

Heads will be more conscientiously elected when the Headships cease to be sinecures, and when the College feels a serious interest in the right discharge of the office; and at the same time the superannuation clauses will become operative. Perhaps, however, it may be found desirable to enlarge the electoral body, and include Ex-fellows, and, I should say, Honorary Fellows; at least, in course of time, when the number of the Ex-fellows elected before the opening of the Fellowships has been reduced. To assign the appointment of the Heads, and still more that of the Fellows, to an external authority, would probably be to break up the College, the self-governed independence and self-propagated life of which have not merely a sentimental value, even if an external authority above suspicion could be found.

It is said that the increase of the stipends of Scholarships has only produced an increase of expenditure and luxury among the Scholars. The Scholarships are not at present in a satisfactory condition. They are destined

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in course of time to be the highest round of the ladder by which merit may one day mount from the primary school to the liberal professions and the high places of the state; but the middle rounds of the ladder are not yet in existence, nor will they be, till there has been a thorough reorganization of our Middle Schools. Meantime, if Colleges think that the money is not doing good, they ought to abstain from vying with each other in augmenting the stipends of Scholars.

It was unfortunate that the Commission was not empowered to readjust, in accordance with the altered value of money, the stipends of Exhibitioners and others having fixed stipends charged on estates in the hands of Colleges. Any authority which may deal with the endowments in future ought to be invested with this power.

The time of persons devoted to education ought not to be spent in the management of estates. This evil has become much greater since the system of leases with fines has been given up, and the estates let at rack-rents. It would, in truth, be a good thing for the Colleges if their property were in the funds. That if it were, it would be forthwith pillaged by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, is one of the jealous fancies bred by long estrangement from the nation. It is probably more dangerous to hold land in mortmain, in a country where land is scarce, especially when the estates of Colleges are close to towns, and prevent the expansion of their suburbs and their sanitary improvement.

For the domestic management of Colleges there ought to be a good House Steward. It is impossible

that literary men should effectually superintend the details of a boarding-house. Probably, the admission of the Undergraduates themselves, or of a Committee of them, to a share in the management of their boarding would be conducive at once to frugality and to contentment. It is in the direction, not so much of lowering of charges, which, so far as the amount of the Tutors' fees and other payments received by the Colleges is concerned, are already very low, as of improved economic machinery that the economic reform of Colleges may be hopefully pursued.

The Commission, in the Colleges on which it operated, left mere relics of the old Code of Statutes, which the Colleges are empowered, in accordance with the directions of the Act of Parliament, to amend for the future by consent of the Visitor. But the Ordinances of the Commission, though nominally mere amendments of the Statutes, are now practically themselves the Statutes of Colleges. They are, however, incomplete as codes, except in the case of Queen's College, where the fusion of the Michel with the Old foundation obliged the Commissioners to frame a complete code, which embodies all the permanent portions of their ordinances for other Colleges, and may serve as a model for the completion of the rest, in case completion is desired; though it had better be postponed till the remaining questions have been solved. It was supposed that the Act had empowered Colleges to amend the ordinances of the Commission by consent of the Privy Council; but a legal opinion has been given that the consent of the Visitor also is required. The Visitor is in most

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cases a Bishop, and will veto, in fact has begun to veto, in the interest of the clerical order. The legal doubt ought of course to be cleared up: and if it is decided against the Colleges, they must seek a power, in accordance with what, from the plain words of the Act, seems to have been the intention of the legislature, of amending their laws by consent of an authority which will give or withhold its consent in the interest of education alone.

It seems to be generally acknowledged that the system under which each College attempts to be a little University in itself must be abandoned, and that the Colleges must combine among themselves, and with the University Professoriate, for the purpose of instruction. Combinations of two or three Colleges have already been set on foot; but this is obviously a very precarious and incomplete solution of the problem. The only adequate solution seems to be that the functions of the Tutor proper, that is, the personal superintendence of students, should be separated from those of the Lecturers; and that the Lecturers should lecture, not to the College, but to the University, giving public notice of their courses like the Professors. The present Tutorial fund should, at the same time, be divided; a portion paid to the Tutors, and the rest, through the College, to such Lecturers as the student may attend. The College may thus retain all desirable control over the instruction of its Undergraduates. The position and prospects of College Lecturers themselves would obviously be greatly improved by the change; they would be

able to devote themselves to a single subject, and become eminent in it, instead of lecturing unsatisfactorily on several as they do at present.

The Professoriate has been partly reorganized and re-endowed; and the effect, in spite of some unsatisfactory appointments and other drawbacks, has already been greatly to restore the position of the University in the eyes of the learned, and still more of the scientific world. But the work is yet far from complete. Some Chairs (one of the English Language and Literature, and one of Archæology) are still wanting. Some are duplicates, as the second Chair of History, which was founded because at the time the Regius Professor of History was non-resident, and the new school required a teacher. Theology is greatly over-endowed. The difference of the incomes, ranging from £1,600 a-year with a house to £300 without one, and with no reference to the relative importance of the subjects, is quite unreasonable and unjust. No system so little based on equity can permanently work well. The Chairs which are at the head of great departments should be separated from the minor Chairs, and an income sufficient for the comfortable maintenance of a Professor and his family should be secured to each of them. It is a moot point how much of the income should be made dependent upon fees: but, at all events, it ought not to be so much as to cause the Professors, who represent the highest learning and science of the University, to lower the tone of their

teaching to the mere examination level for the sake of income. The College Lecturers will be the ordinary instructors; the Professorships are dedicated as much to research as to teaching.

Supposing the incomes of the Professors to be redistributed, needless Chairs suppressed, and the number limited to that of the great departments of study, no very large sum would be wanted to raise all the incomes, with fees, to £1,000 a-year; and when the object is felt to be a common one, the wealthier Colleges will hardly think it spoliation to be required to contribute a certain proportion of the excess of their revenues over what is necessary for the purposes of the College.

The exact relations between the Professors and the College Lecturers cannot be determined beforehand: they will be settled among the Professors and Lecturers themselves, as experience may dictate, when the jealousies, which at present linger, have passed away. Of course, if instruction is reorganized on a University basis, the University Professor ought, in all cases, to have the first claim on the attendance of pupils; but otherwise the arrangement will probably vary in the different departments. Classics or Mathematics can be taught in a College Lecture-room; but Natural Science can only be taught in the Laboratories and Anatomy Schools of the University. In the same way the question whether particular Colleges shall devote themselves, wholly or principally, to particular studies, must be settled by the course of events: to canton the Colleges out at present among

the different studies would be chimerical: it would imply a knowledge of the future of learning and science to which nobody, especially at a moment of critical transition, can pretend.

If the production of books is our object, it will be most surely promoted by the foundation of terminable Readerships, like the Poetry and Political Economy Chairs, and the Bampton Lecture. Such Readerships would bring men of eminence to Oxford, give an opening to distinguished College Lecturers, and sometimes redress the mistakes which will frequently be made in the election of Professors, let the mode of election be what you will.

As to the best method of electing Professors, we have now some experience. Boards of men specially connected with the subject seem to be the most trustworthy. Judging from the conduct of the residents in elections, we should say that Congregation (at least a Congregation cleared of Non-Academical elements) would also elect well. Boards of grandees, or men not specially connected with the subject, are careless and open to intrigue: if there is one University or College officer among a number of non-resident grandees, he is apt to have the nomination without responsibility. The Crown has, on the whole, appointed well; but it sometimes is guilty of political jobs. Convocation has repeatedly and decisively shown itself to be a mere organ of party spirit and injustice, besides the nuisance, the evil, the expense of canvassing and polling so large and so scattered a constituency.

That private Tutors did the work of the University while the University slept, must be gratefully acknowledged. But I submit that, when matters are settled on a satisfactory footing, the teachers of a great University ought to be authorized by the University, and that no system tending to "cram" can with propriety be maintained.

Upper-class education is, as has been said before, at present in a state of critical transition; and our legislation on the subject of studies necessarily reflects the uncertainties of such a period. Not only have the Classics declined in importance since the time when they were adopted as the staple of education, and when they were the sole instruments of high culture and the sole treasuries of all knowledge; but the world has become sensible of the fact that of those who nominally receive a classical education, the great majority, though remaining under tuition to the age of twenty-one or twenty-two, do not get beyond the merest rudiments, which are soon forgotten. New subjects, History, Political Science, Modern Philosophy, and, above all, Natural Science, which has made such vast strides within the last century, press for admission among the subjects of education. It seems, indeed, as though education, and not education alone, were on the point of being transferred from a literary to a scientific basis. We have also found out that industry is discouraged by the practice of ignoring individual aptitudes, and forcing all

students, whether apt for philological studies or not, through that single groove. In Oxford, the comparative neglect of Mathematics has, moreover, become a matter of concern.

The system now under trial consists of a general course of Classics and Mathematics, with liberty of choice in the case of candidates for honours, up to the end of the second year, and beyond this four special and divergent schools—Moral and Political Philosophy and Ancient History—Mathematics—History, Jurisprudence and Political Economy—Natural Science.

The experiment has been tried under disadvantages. The strong classical party has laboured to defeat liberty of divergence by forcing all students through the Classical School: the inveterate despotism of Classics in the Colleges has excluded the new subjects from the Fellowship examinations, to the detriment especially of Natural Science, though in this respect a more liberal policy is now beginning to prevail; and partly for the same reason College teachers have been wanting; while the Colleges have not yet learnt to dispense with attendance at College lectures in favour of students attending University Professors. The Natural Science Class-list remains a skeleton, and the number of the Passmen is extremely small. The History Class-list is much fuller, owing to the interest and the easiness of the subject, and, in some degree, to the appropriation, though not completely carried into effect, of the Fellowships of All Souls. Mathematics still lack due encouragement in the Fellowship

examinations. On the whole, however, I believe, industry has unquestionably increased, and many students who would have been flung aside as hopeless by the old system have done well in the new schools.

Severe strictures have been recently passed on the School of Moral Philosophy as too showy, ambitious, and vaguely comprehensive. The authors of these strictures, however, seem to have in view some intensely scientific and coldly critical idea of education, the superiority of which, I venture to think, is not established; there is a life of the mind, which gives all imparted knowledge life, and which is not to be awakened by mere criticism, or even by mere science. Nor does it seem to me a decisive proof of the unsoundness of knowledge that it is derived partly from oral teachers, and not entirely from books; Physical Science itself being to a great extent orally taught. I can only say of the Philosophy School that it has produced many men able in the estimation not only of philosophers but of statesmen; and if a portion of the talent which it has trained has been taken up by the public journals, this is deplorable and discreditable to the University only on the theory that we are a community of intellectual monks, to whom it is degrading and contaminating to do anything for the world without.

It will be seen that the four Final Schools are not all of the same character; Moral Philosophy and Mathematics are subjects of general education, whereas Law with its concomitants, and Natural Science, are preliminary to professions, and in fact, rudimentary

restorations of the old Faculties of Law and Medicine. Law, indeed, is at present absurdly placed as a subordinate item in a general course, with a few months only practically allowed for such a study; and we need not wonder that the legal portion of the so-called Law and History School has become almost a farce, leaving the School, in truth, merely a School of History, which, I must own, I cannot think a sufficiently solid and systematic subject to constitute by itself the substance of an Academical education, or a title to the highest honours.

Shall we make the University again a place of professional study, or of study preliminary to professions, as well as a place of liberal education? In other words, shall we revive the Faculties? The analogy of all the Universities of other countries points to an answer in the affirmative. We must be on our guard of course against the tendency to bring studies here, when they might be better pursued elsewhere, merely for the sake of increasing the greatness of Oxford: the University is made for education, not education for the University. But, both in the case of Law and Medicine, there seem to be genuine and important reasons for domesticating the professional study in a place of general culture, under humanizing and liberalizing influences, and with the checks and corrections which the juxtaposition of different sciences affords, as well as for connecting it closely with a preliminary course of liberal training. The lawyers generally testify that law ought to be studied more scientifically, Roman Law being taken as the basis; and that no place is so

proper for this purpose as the University: their own attempt to make a Law University of the Inns of Court, where the students are not under any educational rule or discipline, having, as it seems, completely failed. They also deplore the deterioration of the judicial mind, since the judges have ceased to be University men, and mere practitioners have occupied the bench. The history of the law of Joint-Stock Companies is sometimes cited as a proof of the justice of these complaints. Medical men, in the same way, are anxious that their profession should again be connected with liberal studies, and with the place where those studies are pursued. The College of Surgeons has lately been making notable efforts in this direction. Nor does there appear to be any doubt that the strictly scientific parts of Medical training may be gone through at Oxford in the best way; indeed, I believe it is not too much to say, that already a student may get as good a scientific education here as at any place in England.

The more practical parts of Law would still have to be learnt in London Chambers; the more practical parts of Medicine in London Hospitals, the Infirmary here being too small. The University must for this purpose enter into alliance with the Inns of Court and the Hospitals, and recognise their certificates as part qualifications for the legal and medical degrees.

To revive the Faculty of Theology, though of the utmost importance in what may be truly called a fearful crisis of religious faith, would at the same time be most difficult. Anglicanism, as I have said before,

has developed no theology in the proper sense of the term, what is taught under that name being merely Anglican exegesis, Anglican apologies, and ecclesiastical history treated upon the Anglo-Episcopal hypothesis. The difficulty would cease if either the world would consent to receive back the authoritative theology of Suarez and the other Catholic doctors, or decide that theological inquiry should be free. The very aspect of freedom, however, has been enough to frighten the Anglican Clergy into Diocesan Colleges, and to defeat the attempt which was being made at lavish cost to prolong their professional education here.

The Faculty of Music is not to be overlooked, representing as it does a whole side of human culture. In case it should be found expedient to connect Art Education with the University, it would probably be better for the purposes of administration to enlarge this Faculty than to create a new one.

With the Faculties, their old system of self-government should be revived, and they should be allowed, subject to the general legislation of the University, to regulate their own studies. That curious dislike of intelligent administration, which either keeps everything in the hands of a blind Convocation, or trusts only the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, as the representatives of some principle less invidious than intelligence, will naturally pass away as the vista of higher duties opens to our sight.

In framing Examination Statutes, the distinction between liberal and professional studies is the thing

steadily to be kept in view. Liberal education need not be ascetic or regardless of the usefulness or interest of the things taught, as it has hitherto been; but it must be liberal, not professional; its function is to cultivate the mind, and to store it with the knowledge which a youth of a certain class requires as a general preparation for life. Mental power and general information are its objects and its tests, not utility. Of professional education, on the other hand, the object and the test is utility, though utility of the highest kind. Mental power may be acquired without a mental treadmill, but it cannot be acquired without mental exertion. Subjects claiming admittance into the liberal course must prove not only their utility but their fitness for the purposes of education: and though the ear of the educator ought to be open to each member of the group of Natural Sciences when it tenders proof of this, the proof ought to be required. To be made a part of the education of the young, a subject must be such as a young man can tolerably master, which of course would exclude any requiring either a hopeless amount of reading or a long and difficult course of experimentation. Though the Classics are no longer what they were in the sixteenth century, they are still perhaps the best Manual of Humanity; and they are capable of being practically enlarged in their scope and liberalized to an almost indefinite extent in the way of commentary and illustration. I must own that my experience of historical education leaves me finally under the impression that ancient history, besides the still unequalled excellence

of the writers, is the best instrument for cultivating the historical sense. It seems certain, also, that Greek and Latin may be taught more easily than they are at present, and with less waste of time. The position of Mathematics as an element of liberal education can hardly be said to have changed. The University, in fixing from time to time the subjects of liberal education, ought to be open-minded but firm, and not to be carried away by apocryphal^a or irrelevant anecdotes of the ignorance of University men on subjects which it is not the duty of a University to teach. The nation, and not least that part of the nation which is supposed to be most utilitarian, will thank her for exercising in a right spirit the authority put into her hands. It is our duty to recognize frankly and heartily the tendencies of the age: but of this age, too, the tendencies have their just limits. Education never can be complete without a knowledge of Humanity as well as of Physical nature, without a cultivation of the feelings and the tastes as well as of the powers of observation and reasoning. The results of a training exclusively literary have long been manifest; the results of a training exclusively scientific are already beginning to appear. Liberty of divergence, again, has proved to be a spring of industry; but, so long as the system of competitive examinations is retained, it must

^a Who can believe, for example, such a story as that a man of business like Lord Castlereagh went into a conference for the mutual cession of territories without knowing the geographical position of the territories which he was going to cede, those territories having been recently conquered, and he having been Minister of War?

be kept within the limits necessary to comparison of men with each other; and while we recognize diversity of aptitudes, we must not forget that it is partly the business of general education to correct one-sidedness of mind.

Modern languages, which some are proposing to make almost the staple of education, are indispensable accomplishments, but they do not form a high mental training; they are often possessed in perfection by persons of very low intellectual powers. As languages and instruments of linguistic training the best of them are far inferior to the Greek and Latin, the merit of which, indeed, as organs of thought, is so pre-eminent that it is difficult to believe that their destinies are yet exhausted. Nor need men be brought to a University to learn modern languages; on the contrary, they are best learnt abroad. It would seem, therefore, that they are well provided for at the Taylor Institution, and sufficiently encouraged (as a University study) by the Taylorian Scholarships, which are too often won by students of foreign parentage or who have lived abroad. As a former Curator of the Taylor, however, I would suggest that the Teachers are underpaid, and that, so far as the specific purposes of the institution are concerned, the Professorship might, some day, be well exchanged for what would cost much less — periodical courses of lectures, delivered by Lecturers chosen from time to time, on the literature of the several languages.

There is more than one objection to giving the French language the place in education which is now

demanded for it. It is not like the mediæval Latin, a neutral language; its prevalence would render dominant the political and moral ideas of the French nation. Its excessive use in the education of women, who know little of their own tongue or its great writers, is probably already a cause of the inferiority of the female mind, as I believe the most sensible women begin to feel.

As the intrinsic value of education becomes greater and is more felt, there will be less necessity for the stimulus of competitive examination, which, in itself, does not appeal to high motives and is not a very happy school of character. But few would be so hardy at present as to do away with examinations, and leave us to the chances of spontaneous industry and unregulated reading. The number of examinations, however, which is at present fatal to any methodical and continuous plan of instruction, ought to be reduced, even if it be necessary to sacrifice the *vivâ voce*. The principal examinations ought to be held only once in the year instead of twice; and at the end of the Summer Term, so as to redeem that term, which is now abandoned to organized idleness. And in this connection it may be remarked that the reduction of the length of the Vacations within reasonable bounds is a reform which public opinion cannot fail soon to demand. It would be less unwelcome to the Tutors if they were married men settled here for life than it is now that they are unsettled and living in that uncomfortable

luxury of the Common-room, of which men so soon grow weary, and which makes them willing wanderers half the year.

With a cordial aversion to anything like intellectual exclusiveness, or want of respect for the claims and efforts of ungifted minds, I must concur in the opinion that the 'Pass' Examinations ought to cease; and that men who are unable, with reasonable industry, to reach the standard required for the lowest class in the honour lists, ought not to be brought to the University. Elsewhere they may be useful and prosperous: but in a place of intellectual pursuits for which they are not fitted and have no taste, they are exposed to very dangerous influences, without, as it seems to me, any countervailing advantage. The society in which they live, being merely that of men like themselves, can hardly improve or refine them; while they are liable to contract habits of selfish luxury which may cling to them through life. Their reading, being carried on without interest in the subject, without ambition, because without hope of success, and generally under the rod of an impending examination, only serves to disgust them with books; the papers which it is necessary to set them at the age of twenty-one or twenty-two are a humiliation in themselves; and to this humiliation is added, in a large proportion of cases, the disgrace, at some period or other of their career, of a pluck. The change must, however, be made warily, and must wait, to some extent, on the reorganization of the educational institutions immediately below the University, at which

a passman ought to finish his career. We cannot turn half our students out of doors without being assured that provision will be made for their final education elsewhere.

The Entrance Examinations of the several Colleges may be of use to the College, but they are of no use to the University; because the men who are rejected as not properly prepared by a good College, are at once accepted by a bad one. They, in fact, adjust themselves inversely to the necessities of the case. The Entrance Examination ought to be in the hands of the University, not only to secure the exclusion of men unprepared for Academical studies, and whose admission lowers the character of the instruction and the examinations, increases the number of disgraceful failures, and infects the place with the bad habits of idle men, but also to put the requisite pressure on the public schools, which would never have neglected the mass of their pupils as some of them have done, if they had been constantly brought to the public test of a University Entrance Examination.

The present mode of appointing Examiners on the nomination of the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors secures a turn of the patronage to all the Colleges, bad as well as good; but it does not secure justice to the Candidates or to the University. There is a painful contrast between our practice and that of the University of London, and, as the consequence, the degrees of the University of London will presently be more highly

esteemed than ours. So long as the system of Examinations continues the Examiners will be the most important officers of the University, with perhaps the single exception of the Vice-Chancellor, and they ought to be appointed in a manner above suspicion, properly paid, and placed for the time in a position of perfect independence, so that scandals as to the connection between tutor and pupil in the examination school may never for the future arise. Probably Congregation would elect well, always supposing it to be made a purely Academical body. The better appointment of Examiners is a reform which will not brook delay.

It may be worth consideration whether the Professors should not be made standing Examiners, and whether we might not be more sure of their doing this work — the great requisite for which is sound knowledge—well, than of their being good lecturers. They should be combined however with elective Examiners, to prevent the examinations from running too much in the same groove.

All our degrees ought to be real; this is not merely a matter of policy, but our duty as trustees of the national fund of literary honour. The degree of Master of Arts ought to be given at the real end of the general course; that of Bachelor of Arts at the end of the first portion of that course. Honorary degrees, too, ought to be bestowed only for literary or scientific merit. If the University must worship the powers of politics and of the sword, let this be done in some more appropriate way than by making party leaders and soldiers Doctors of Civil Law.

That the Legislative Assembly of the University should be rightly constituted is a matter of the most vital importance. Upon this depends the fusion of the Colleges into a University, and their power of acting together for the common good. To the University itself, its constitution once placed on a satisfactory footing, ought to be entrusted the disposal of all sums contributed by Colleges to University purposes, the resettlement, from time to time, of the Professoriate, and other requisite changes for which it is now necessary to resort to the spasmodic and humiliating action of Parliamentary Commissions.

The most indispensable, though perhaps the most difficult reform, is to set the intelligent and responsible government of the University free from the unintelligent and irresponsible interference of the non-Academical Convocation. As has already been said, the power of the non-residents is a usurpation; and it is not only a great anomaly, but a great evil: besides its actual interventions, the feeling that it may at any time intervene renders a far-sighted policy impossible, and hangs like lead on University legislation. The Members of Convocation are more than four thousand in number; they are scattered over the three kingdoms: themselves knowing nothing, as a general rule, about Academical education, they cannot be brought together to be instructed or persuaded by those who are better informed, and on whom the responsibility rests: they are practically represented even on important occasions by less than a tenth part of their number, and these not the ablest and the most enlightened, but the

nearest to Oxford and the hottest partisans. Ordinarily speaking, in fact, Convocation is an instrument in the hands of a few party wire-pullers, who choose to devote themselves to that occupation rather than to Academical duty. All this has been stated before, and is not denied. It is only said, on the other hand, that the subjection of our conduct in the discharge of our high trust to this improper and noxious control is the bribe which we pay to great interests for conniving at our existence; an argument which may have weight with a University of sinecurism, but can have none with a University of duty.

For similar reasons, the non-Academical elements ought to be removed from Congregation, and the legislature of the University made, as it was intended to be, purely Academical. If all University Officers, including Delegates and Curators, as well as all engaged in education, were admitted to the franchise, it would seldom happen that a Master resident for Academical purposes would fail to have a vote. To claim for the local clergy, lawyers, physicians, bankers, or government officials votes in the councils of the University, is as absurd as it would be to claim for the Eton soldiers quartered in Windsor barracks votes in the councils of Eton College.

This is not the case of a political franchise, to which everybody has a general claim in the absence of proved disqualifications; but of a vote in the administration of a special institution, for which special qualifications are required, and with which no man of sense would wish to meddle unless he could give his attention to its affairs.

If ballast, and a guarantee that Oxford shall not too much outrun public opinion, is really needed, a certain number of non-residents specially qualified, by having held important educational offices in the University or the Colleges, and possibly the Head Masters of great Schools, might be added to Congregation. Such men would have some conscience in coming up to elect teachers, or to vote on questions of education.

The retention of an initiative Council was not an act of deliberate policy, but a deference to habit and to that fear of Academical liberty, which, from long desuetude, had become so absurdly strong. The operation of an arrangement, exceptional in itself and doubly exceptional in the case of a highly-educated and intellectual assembly, requires to be carefully watched. So far, I apprehend, it has not been successful. The Council has proved unable to act as a Cabinet, to shape any intelligible and consistent policy, or even to father and advocate its own measures, which are thrown before Congregation in a very unsatisfactory way. It has hitherto operated chiefly in preventing questions from coming to a decisive issue, as in the recent case of University Extension, where the House was quite prepared to vote upon certain definite proposals which had been thoroughly ventilated, but the Hebdomadal Council, being divided in itself, could only submit measures unacceptable to all parties alike. It is not desirable that the University should be much occupied in legislation. Its legislation ought to be on organic questions only, all details being relegated to administrative committees :

but where an organic question has fairly arisen, it ought to be settled; and it can be settled only by allowing the advocates of change to bring their proposals before the House in their own way, and to take a decisive vote.

As the Council does not, and from the limitation of its number cannot, include the heads of many important departments, there are many subjects with regard to which it can only be set in motion by a process of memorializing which consumes hardly less time than would be consumed by public discussion under a system of open legislation.

The elections, also, the effect of which, if political and ecclesiastical party could have been kept at bay, might have been wholesome, now that political and ecclesiastical party has seized on them, are the pests of the place. Among other evils, they put great power into the hands of the least worthy members of the University, who spend in electioneering the time which others spend in study or in the work of education.

The other peculiarities of our system, the preposterous rule of discussing a measure on one day and voting on another, the absence of any power of moving amendments or of going into Committee on the details of a measure, which are more or less corollaries of the Initiative Board, are fatal to rational legislation; and the wonder is, not that so much confusion and discontent exist, but that legislation does not come altogether to a stand.

The want of initiative vigour in the Council is evinced by their lazy retention of the fashion of legislating in

bad Latin, whereby a double danger of miscarriage through the imperfections of language is incurred, and of legislating not by substantive enactments, intelligible in themselves, but by perplexing and often unintelligible references to the Statute-book. The Statute-book itself swarms with blunders and ambiguities, the consequences of neglecting to employ a proper draftsman, which come to light as often as it is necessary to put a strict construction on any clause. Incalculable trouble and waste of time are caused in all departments, and in the Colleges as well as in the University, by the refusal to make use of the improved machinery of administration everywhere else adopted in modern times.

In an active University, the Vice-Chancellor must always be a functionary of the highest importance, not only as regards executive government, but as regards general initiation; and in the period of educational change, on which we are evidently entering, to place the right man in this office is an object of national concern. The method of mere rotation among the Heads of Houses is clearly the offspring of the age of torpor, quite unsatisfactory at the present time. A nomination by the Chancellor would be a party nomination; an election by Convocation would be a party election. But an election by an Academical Congregation would almost certainly be good. At Cambridge a corresponding body now elects, and, I believe, elects well.

Heads of Houses are the natural persons to hold the office, provided they can be set free from other duties

for the time, and provided that they have among their number a man equal to the need, and willing to be elected. In fact, unless the University has the means of building an official house, none but the Heads of Houses can hold an office which entails a certain amount of hospitality and state.

We cannot say how effectually war might be waged on the vices which bring such misery on students and all belonging to them, till the discipline is in better hands than those of two annual Proctors, who are appointed without regard to special fitness, and who have no time to acquire experience in their office. Here, again, we are clinging to a mediæval arrangement utterly unsuited to modern administration.

Congregation, which, once more, ought to concern itself only with organic legislation, might, of course; appoint such Delegacies as it pleased from time to time for the administration of details. A Delegation of Estates, including all the financial and legal business, one of Discipline, one or more of Studies, one of the Press, are those most obviously needed. Every Delegation ought to report annually to the University.

No Delegation or Committee can be organic without a proper Secretary and a Chairman of its own. In appointing Secretaries or other subordinate officers care should be taken not to give them anything like a freehold, legal or practical, in their office, or a claim to object to any alteration of their duties which may become necessary from time to time.

The emoluments of the Registrarship are too large for its duties; and might supply two Secre-

taryships, or a Registrarship and Secretaryship at least.

The Vice-Chancellor might very properly be Chairman of the Delegacy of Discipline; but the rule which makes him *ex officio* Chairman of all Delegacies and Committees, and paralyses their action when he is absent (and perhaps still more when he is present) is too absurd, and too contrary to what common sense dictates elsewhere to require discussion. Yet it is said that Vice-Chancellors cling to it on the ground that they do not feel justified in diminishing the prerogative of their office: as though the office existed for any purpose but the service of the University.

The Delegacy of the Press, if successfully managed, may become a department of the very highest importance. It may do much towards reforming, with authority, the educational books of the country. This prospect of new usefulness and influence opens upon it just as it is losing its advantage in the printing of Bibles, and that department is declining in lucrativeness and importance. But to succeed in such an enterprize the Delegacy must be put at once on a good footing. A short time ago it was utterly without a Secretary to correspond with authors and keep the business on foot, and without any Chairman but the Vice-Chancellor, whose presence could be nothing but a hindrance: it was, in short, in a perfectly inorganic state. A Secretary to the Education Books Committee has now been appointed, with the best results; but there is still no general Secretary, no Chairman, nobody to look to the finance of the department, which is much in want

of proper superintendence and control. A general Secretary and a regular Chairman are absolutely necessary, and ought to be appointed without delay. The Chairman ought, if possible, to be paid; and if he does his duty he will have enough to do; for the conduct of the Education Books' department will, for some time to come, be sufficient in itself to give full occupation to an active mind.

That the University Library, under its present management, is as useful as its means permit, seems to be the universal opinion. This, however, ought not to prevent justice from being done to the Librarian, whose office has become far more important and onerous of late years, and who ought, at least, in addition to his present stipend, to be provided with a house. A special Sub-Librarian for the Oriental department seems also to be requisite. The election of the Librarians ought to be taken from Convocation, and vested in Congregation. It is too much that the efficiency of one of the great libraries of England should be the sport of the party feeling which reigns in Convocation without control.

The Library, however, will probably, at no distant period, make a further demand on our resources. It is scarcely possible that we should be able long to maintain our vexatious claim to a copy of each book published in England; and the time has probably gone by for obtaining any equivalent by way of commutation. If the University Press is managed with skill and

vigour, it will probably be in a position to help the Library. But if anyone wishes to become a benefactor to the University, the best object on which he can bestow his liberality is the Bodleian.

As a former Curator of the Taylor Institution, I cannot help entering a protest against the plan of merging its Library in the Bodleian. It is a lending library, which the Bodleian is not; and it is a library where the reader can go to the shelves and select a book for himself, whereas in the Bodleian he can only select from the Catalogue. It is practically serving very good purposes of its own.

Everything that sustains and renders visible the historic greatness of Oxford is worthy of attention, and therefore it is not trifling to suggest that the picture gallery of the Bodleian should be converted into a gallery of Oxford worthies. The Public Orator might also give at Commemoration short biographies of those who have died during the past year, to be entered in the official annals of the University.

On the subject of discipline, almost everything has been said when we have provided for the appointment of a good Delegacy and of competent Proctors. The great guarantee for a student's morality is his industry; and the best disciplinary measures will be those by which industry is advanced. The principles, however, on which discipline is administered are somewhat unsettled and in need of rational revision. The Statute-book has been cleared of most of the language

which treated undergraduates as boys; but practically we have hardly yet realized the fact that they are young men. It is fatal to effective discipline to pretend to insist on any rules which, under present circumstances, cannot be consistently enforced: while, on the other hand, an amount of license is at present allowed to patent and systematic extravagance and dissipation which seems scarcely compatible with the duty of a University. We are bound, it would seem, at least to supply the place of the restraints to which the student would be subject if he were living in his own home. It is true that the home itself is in too many cases a school of idleness, expensiveness, and luxury; and that the task of the University in controlling the propensities of men who have not to earn their own bread is one of extreme difficulty, in the performance of which she is entitled to the greatest allowance. But the sense of her duty to the poor ought to nerve her in coercing firmly the vices of the rich, who, by the fatal influence of social superiority, mislead and corrupt the poor, and thus fill many a family with distress, and injure the hopes and promises of many a life.

In the midst of our other difficulties, the question of University Extension presents itself in an urgent shape. The number of students at Oxford and Cambridge bears no proportion either to the demand for liberal education, and for degrees as the certificates of liberal education, which has arisen since the great increase of

wealth in the country, or to the amount of the endowments. In our own case the education of fifteen hundred students, which is a high estimate of our number, is but little to shew for revenues not falling far short in the aggregate of £200,000 a-year, considering that each student probably costs his father on the average £200 a-year besides.

Academical education is in fact threatened with another schism like that which was produced by the exclusion of the Nonconformists, and which led to the foundation of the London University. A new University is in course of foundation in Wales; and the design of founding one in the manufacturing North, round the nucleus of Owens College, Manchester, seems to be approaching maturity. There are some who would see the multiplication of Universities with indifference or with pleasure; careless what may happen to national education so long as Oxford can be kept for the Anglican Church, or believing that the more Universities, the more centres of intellectual life, and therefore the more of intellectual life itself there will be. The creation of a number of centres of intelligence is not so much an object when intelligence is widely diffused, and can find centres for itself wherever there are books and scientific apparatus. Good libraries, institutes, and museums in our chief towns could probably do more in this way than the multiplication of Universities. On the other hand, the multiplication of Universities, each with the power of conferring degrees, and bidding against each other for popularity, as they infallibly would do, would almost

certainly confuse and debase the national standard of literary honour, and in fact put an end to the existence of intellectual rank. This has been the result of the multiplication of Universities in the United States, and it is there lamented by the wisest men. The time may come when society will be able to dispense with all these distinctions; but few will think that this time has yet arrived. At the present juncture, in fact, hereditary rank, which has hitherto acted as a conservative element, having to all appearances reached the last stage of decay, literary and scientific rank, which is still recognised by the people, and most of all perhaps by the most democratic class, may have an exceptional value for the nation.

In the Academical anarchy which would ensue upon the multiplication of Universities, it is possible that the so-called University of London, which is in fact merely an examining board, might compass the object of its aspirations, towards which it has already made considerable strides, by becoming the central board of examination and fountain of literary honour for the whole nation. I may perhaps be biassed by affection for my own University, but to me it seems that such a transfer of the educational kingdom from the ancient and historic seats of learning to a new office in London would be more than a sentimental misfortune.

University Extension may be effected either by enlargement of our internal accommodation or by external affiliation. Plans of both kinds are before us.

The most obvious expedient is to enlarge the existing Colleges as much as their educational power and

the size of their Halls and Chapels will permit: perhaps in most cases this limit has been already reached.

The next obvious expedient is to build new Colleges. There are some Colleges the revenues of which are already or will soon be superabundant, but which, having no more room in their Halls and Chapels, or being hemmed in by other Colleges, cannot enlarge themselves on their present sites. There seems to be no reason why these Colleges should not build sister Colleges on other sites, under the same foundation, though of course with a separate staff. Power might no doubt be easily obtained to raise money on the College estates for this purpose. It would not be necessary in building to adhere to the pattern of the mediæval quadrangle, which was adapted to a cloistered community, not perhaps without an eye to defence, if, as would seem probable, a cheaper and more convenient plan could be devised.

It may be a question whether All Souls, which, the scheme of the Commission having failed, still remains in fact a *tabula rasa*, should be devoted to education; or whether, as was suggested to the Commission, it should be made a Professorial College, its buildings converted into houses for Professors, and its revenues into their stipends, the payments to the Professoriate at present drawn from educational Colleges being to that extent released. A Professorial College would realize the idea of those who desire a quiet and congenial home for learning and science; and the only thing to be said on the other side is that there would be a waste of the Hall and Chapel.

The abolition of the College monopoly and the admission of independent students are to be desired, as has been already said, in the interest of the Colleges themselves, which ought to stand, not on any monopoly, but on their own merits. Nor is it doubtful that a student may, if he pleases, live more cheaply in lodgings than in College; because, though a College has the economical advantage of doing things on a large scale, it must do all in conformity to the tastes and habits of the wealthier class; and, still more, because the society of a College is the real source of expense. What seems to me doubtful is whether many men will find their account in coming to a University, where they will be in a state of social isolation, and, almost inevitably, in a somewhat inferior position. This experience alone can decide.

The moral objections to the lodging-house system are of course entitled to respectful consideration, though they come to us in a rather questionable form, being evidently connected with the tendency to spread moral alarm as the precursor of the confessional. On inquiry as to the results of experience at Cambridge, various shades of opinion will be found; but it is certain that nothing has come before the authorities of the University or of the Colleges there to lead them seriously to entertain the thought of abolishing the system. In the case of Cambridge, it is true, the out-lodging students are members of Colleges. But a fair equivalent, at least, for this is proposed in our case by the institution of a University Delegacy, having the same power over the lodger students which a College

has over its undergraduates, together with a power of requiring them to change their lodgings, if there is occasion. The presumption is that lodger students will for the most part be poor, and therefore unable to indulge in expensive vices, as well as isolated from social temptations. Those who dwell so much on these questions of academical morality are apt to confine their view to one particular vice; but selfish luxury, abject indolence, gambling, gluttony, and drunkenness, from which dwellers in Colleges enjoy no exemption, may surely defile the character as deeply as that to which, in the peculiar code of ecclesiastical ethics, the name of impurity is technically applied.

The Cambridge system would scarcely be applicable here, because so few of our Colleges have room in their Halls and Chapels or educating power for more than their buildings will contain. But in cases where it may be desired there can be no objection but the moral one, the answer to which has already been given.

The failure of Private Halls, which the Oxford Reform Act authorized Masters to open, throws little light upon the general question; since a student in a Private Hall, while instruction was on the College not on the University basis, was at the obvious disadvantage of having no instruction but that of the Master of his own Hall.

Enlarge our internal accommodation, however, as we will, there must be a limit not only to the number of students which our lecture-rooms, examination-rooms, and other public buildings can contain, but to

the number which our discipline can control. Thirty thousand are the legendary object of our aspiration. Five thousand would probably be an anarchy. If we do not wish to see other Universities created, we shall be obliged sooner or later to look beyond our own precincts and to contemplate something in the nature of affiliation. A further reason for turning our thoughts this way is that a great many parents, especially in the manufacturing districts, are deterred from sending their sons to Oxford, not only by want of room, but by the fear of their total estrangement from business habits and ideas, and of their identification with an idle, expensive, and luxurious class. The prevalence of this fear, together with the religious tests, has, to the great misfortune of the nation, placed the manufacturing districts, with all their wealth and power, almost out of the pale of Academical influence.

The plan proposed by one of the Sub-Committees on University Extension is to affiliate local Colleges, provided that they are chartered, and that they will allow the University to be represented in their governing bodies; and to permit the student to pass the first part of his course in the Affiliated College, bringing him up to the University for the remainder. He would thus not only escape a large part of the expense and of the social and moral peril; but, before coming to the University, he would have given some proof of the industry, which is the only guarantee for his moral conduct. It is not proposed, of course, that the student should necessarily reside in the Affiliated College; he might reside in his own home. Affiliated

Colleges might have Halls of their own in Oxford for the students sent up to finish their course. King's College, London, and Owens College, Manchester, are instances of Colleges already suitable for affiliation; and there is evidence to shew that at Liverpool and Birmingham similar Colleges would soon be formed. At Birmingham, in fact, there is one already, though it would require adaptation to this purpose. Those who are most conversant with the interests of the medical profession especially have given a decided adhesion to the plan of Affiliation.

The Educational institutions of the nation, however, as has been already said, are undergoing general reorganization; and the movement can hardly fail to result in the establishment, among other things, of something intermediate between the University and the School. A schoolboy of nineteen is an absurdity; and, on the other hand, there are many youths who want something beyond the school, and who are yet, both by character and circumstances, unsuited for the high intellectual pursuits of a University, and had much better enter at once on their practical life. The relations of such local Colleges, when they come into existence, to the Universities, and the question whether any Academical degree shall be granted for attendance at a local College must be settled, upon a further view of the circumstances of the case, by those into whose hands the general guidance of our educational policy may fall.

That English education will for some time to come need the organizing and guiding control of a cen-

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tral authority, can hardly be doubted : and it seems equally clear that in a country governed by party, the Universities, if made thoroughly national, would be better and more trustworthy depositories of such authority than the political government. As there are two coequal Universities, there would be little reason to apprehend a procrustean despotism of education.

There are other modes in which the influence of the University might be extended beyond its local bounds. The publication of educational books at the Press has been already mentioned. The examination and certification of teachers for middle and especially for endowed schools, would also be a most useful office, and one which the Universities would be perfectly competent to perform. It would, perhaps, be more certainly useful in the long run, as well as more appropriate and more feasible, than the present plan of "Middle Class Examinations," the cordial reception of which by the country is a proof of the position held by the Universities in the national esteem, but which was framed in great haste, rather perhaps as a temporary expedient for applying a test and giving a stimulus to Middle Class Education than as a permanent institution, and without a definite view as to its ultimate scope and limits. This plan further involves the dangerous principle of conferring an Academical title without Academical training, which may some day be pressed further, and place the University in a difficult position.

The University of London has of late practically abandoned Affiliation, and now grants its degrees, on

mere examination, to all persons without regard to the place of education. It is to be hoped that we shall be cautious in following this example. A mere examination is, in the case of ordinary men, a very inadequate test of the benefit received by a course of Education in a good College, under efficient teachers, and amidst intelligent and active-minded fellow-students. It denotes the possession of a certain amount of Academical knowledge, but not of Academical habits of mind. The Senate of the London University published an analysis of the results of the B.A. Examination in 1865, which places in a strong light the comparative value of collegiate and non-collegiate training even as a preparation for degree Examinations, not to speak of more general results. There were 104 candidates in all, of whom 50 came from one or other of the affiliated Colleges, 11 from other Colleges or Schools, and 43 were registered as private students. Of the 104 candidates 50 passed and 54 were rejected, but the distribution of the rejections among the different classes of candidates was very significant. Of the candidates from the Colleges of the University 34 *per cent.* failed to pass; whereas of those from other Colleges and Schools 54·5 *per cent.*, and of the private students as many as 70·5 *per cent.* were rejected. It may be said that the Examiners, in the end, sifted the good from the bad; but this does not affect the presumption that the implied indifference of the University to the character of the place of education led to the selection of inferior places of education by many of the students.

The relation of the University to the Established Church must be settled in the councils of the nation; it would be a mockery to put to the clerical Convocation of Oxford the question whether the clergy shall retain the exclusive control of the national Universities. Every instinct of class, every prompting of a conscience formed under sectional influences, leads them to struggle as a body against the removal of the Tests. No statesman can doubt that the Tudor polity, in which the absolute identity of Church and State was assumed, and no one but a member of the State Church was allowed to be capable of the privileges of a citizen, is numbered with the past. It has been entirely swept away as regards political franchises, and as regards admission to the national places of education its hour is manifestly come. Probably few men who have watched the course of religious movements with open minds entertain much doubt that the root of the Tudor faith itself is dead, and that the persistent imposition of the tests of that faith upon the consciences of all the divergent schools of thought must lead to moral and intellectual evil. Under these circumstances the aim of the statesman will be to throw open the Universities, to introduce united education among the upper classes, and to relieve conscience from oppression, as rapidly and completely as is consistent with the preservation of the religious character which the mass of those who resort to the Universities desire that education should retain.

The University is at present bound to the Established Church by the subscription to the Articles required on

taking the Master's and Doctor's degree, by the declaration of conformity to the Liturgy required by the Act of Uniformity of Professors, and by the restriction of the Faculty of Theology to persons in Holy Orders: the Colleges by the declaration of conformity required by the Act of Uniformity of Heads, Fellows, and (legally) of Tutors, by the rule requiring the Fellows in most cases to take the Master's or Doctor's degree which involves subscription to the Articles, by the limitation of the Headships with a single exception to clergymen, by the requirement in almost all cases of a number of clerical Fellows over and above those necessary for the service of the chapel, and in the case of some Colleges founded or reorganized after the Reformation, by more specific provisions for the adherence of the Head and Fellows to the Anglican faith, and for their expulsion in case of a change of creed^b. All this is in addition to the performance of the Anglican service as by law established, and the preaching of Anglican doctrine, in the University church and in the College chapels.

It is naturally proposed by some that the University should be thrown open by the abolition of the tests and of the declaration of conformity required of Professors, and that the Colleges should be left as they are. But Oxford being a University of Colleges, so that exclusion from the Colleges is practically exclusion from the University, this solution would not

^b Merton is, I believe, the only College in which the restriction of the Fellowships to members of the Church of England rests on the Act of Uniformity alone.

satisfy the object of a statesman; nor would that object be satisfied, indeed it would be practically rather thwarted, by the erection of sectarian Colleges, which would still keep the members of different Churches in a state of isolation, perhaps even of embittered isolation, from each other.

The rational course seems to be to remove at once from the University and the Colleges all Parliamentary restrictions, a term in which must be included not only the restrictive clause in the Act of Uniformity but the tests on degrees, which were in fact imposed by the State, though the power of the State in an unconstitutional era was exercised by the Crown; and, for the rest, to leave the Colleges at liberty to open themselves. The result will, in all probability, be that the Colleges will adapt themselves to the educational demands of the time, and that amongst them accommodation will be found for every shade of ecclesiastical sentiment; just as schools practically adapt themselves to various demands, and find amongst them accommodation for different shades of opinion. That Colleges dependent for their position and for a large part of their revenues on their popularity as places of education will do anything to outrage or alarm the religious feelings of those who resort to them, is surely not much to be apprehended.

The service of the Established Church would continue to be performed in the College chapels, and in this respect nothing would be altered but the compulsory attendance at that service which many persons wish to give up, as it is, on grounds quite independent

of the objections of Nonconformists. That there would be any practical difficulty on the subject of religious instruction, that Undergraduates would cease to be taught anything which their parents thought essential, or that any religious intercourse which now goes on between tutor and pupil would terminate, because Nonconformists could not be forced to attend theological lectures, I cannot believe. Rather, I suspect the system of Colleges would practically become more religious than it is now, when their religious character was no longer formally guaranteed by tests. As to the harmony of the Fellows themselves, if it has survived the deep theological dissensions of the last forty years, it will scarcely be destroyed by the removal of a superficial unity of profession.

If it is thought too much to give a bare majority of the existing Fellows the power of doing away with religious restrictions (though for my own part I see no sort of danger in it) the best course perhaps will be to require a majority of two-thirds. But at all events the controlling authority must be one of an educational character. To give episcopal Visitors a veto to be used in the interest of their order, would be to ensure an ultimate conflict between a College advancing under the pressure of public opinion and an episcopal *non possumus*; and statesmen will not fail to observe the inexpediency of complicating academical with ecclesiastical reform, and compelling the able and active-minded Fellows of Colleges, checkmated by a bishop's veto in their own sphere of duty, to resort to the standard of emancipation raised on a more extensive field. Many

a keen arrow flying in theological or political battle has been winged by academical discontent.

In all plans of religious emancipation for the University, the case of the Theological Faculty is abandoned as hopeless. Possibly it may be so at present. But it ought never to be forgotten that the free study of theology at the Universities by really learned and responsible theologians, with all the aids and amidst all the corrections which the presence of other studies can supply, is likely to be of the most essential service to a society perplexed with religious doubt and labouring to all appearances in the throes of a great religious revolution.

The relations of the University and its component Colleges to the State also require revision.

At present the law is not quite certain, but it appears that though the University may be called to account in the Court of Queen's Bench for any technical breach of legality, there is no visitatorial authority to control the general exercise of its powers, or the general expenditure of its funds, in the interest of the nation.

The Colleges have as Visitors mostly ecclesiastics, who at the time of the foundation were simply princes of the Estate to which all educational and eleemosynary foundations belonged, but whose authority over academical institutions has now acquired a different significance. The Visitor, however, never visits in the proper sense of the term, nor does he in any way interfere to obviate the evils incident to perpetual endowments. He

only hears appeals, and interprets the statutes. According to the legal opinion before mentioned, he has a veto on the amendment of the Ordinances of the Commission, which now practically constitute the statutes of most Colleges, as he certainly has on the amendment of the Statutes of the three Colleges which exercised the power given them by the Act in the first instance of revising their own codes. To him also are submitted the decennial returns of College revenues prescribed by the Commission, and any application of the surplus when the Fellowships have reached the legal limit of £300, is to be made with his concurrence. Amendments in the Ordinances of the Commission require the assent of the Privy Council, which is thus introduced as another organ of State control.

Few persons, looking at the matter from an impartial and statesmanlike point of view, will doubt that these jurisdictions ought to be reduced to one, and that one rendered effective. The services of members of the Privy Council are unpaid; the amount of business already cast upon them, considering this, is already very large; they are not amenable, like a responsible Minister of the Crown, to Parliament or to public opinion; they can bring no special knowledge, nor, as the committees are merely formed for the particular matter in hand, any steadiness or consistency of view to the supervision of academical institutions. The episcopal Visitors are not impartial: it is because they are not impartial that a party is determined if possible to uphold their power.

Everything seems to point to the creation of a re-

sponsible department of government with adequate powers for the visitation of endowed institutions. Fatal experience shews that every perpetual endowment, left to itself, tends to become a public nuisance. But for the endowments, Oxford must always have been a working, and would probably have been a free, University. Even now it is impossible not to feel the comparative languor and feebleness of character which they beget. That which is the case with the endowed Universities is equally the case with the endowed Schools. All alike need watchful and active superintendence, and continual adaptation to the changing circumstances of successive generations.

To this department of government all powers now vested in the Privy Council or in Visitors, with regard to the amendment of Statutes or the appropriation of revenues, would naturally be transferred.

The legal interpretation of Statutes must, of course, be vested in some legal authority, and with a view to consistency of interpretation, in a single authority, not in a great number, each independent of the others, as at present. The authority should be so constituted that not only Colleges at the Universities but endowed Schools and other endowed institutions might obtain guidance in doubtful cases easily, inexpensively, and without the necessity of bitter and scandalous litigation.

Under an efficient system of visitation, the expenditure of Academical funds for other than Academical purposes would of course be controlled: a College would no longer be permitted to vote away large sums

for the augmentation of livings, nor the University to honour drafts upon its chest for objects of ecclesiastical sympathy, while those of Academical education remained unfulfilled.

The vested pecuniary interests of Members of Colleges are private property in the full sense of the term, and to interfere with them would be confiscation. But subject to such interests it may be taken as settled, since the University Reform Acts, that the endowments are the property of the State. If they were not the property of the State, whose property could they be? To pretend that they were the property of the dead founder would be absurd: and the incumbents can exercise no proprietary right beyond their own incumbency, except by the special permission of the State.

The action of the State should, however, be limited to securing the right appropriation of public property, and the right use of public powers. There should be no interference with the intellectual liberty of the University: none, at least, while the general character and aim of English institutions remain what they are now and our ideal is not that of an administrative despotism, acting and thinking for the nation in every sphere, but of a commonwealth, giving free play to all the different organs of national progress and looking to the political government only for that which is required by the body politic, not for moral or intellectual life. The French system, under which the teaching of all the places of education is controlled and regulated by a central office in Paris, instead of being an advance in

civilization, is in truth a relapse into barbarism. It is a return from the variety and complexity of high social organization towards the coarse and rudimentary simplicity of a primitive community which has but one organ, that of the central despotism, for every function of political, social, intellectual, and religious life.

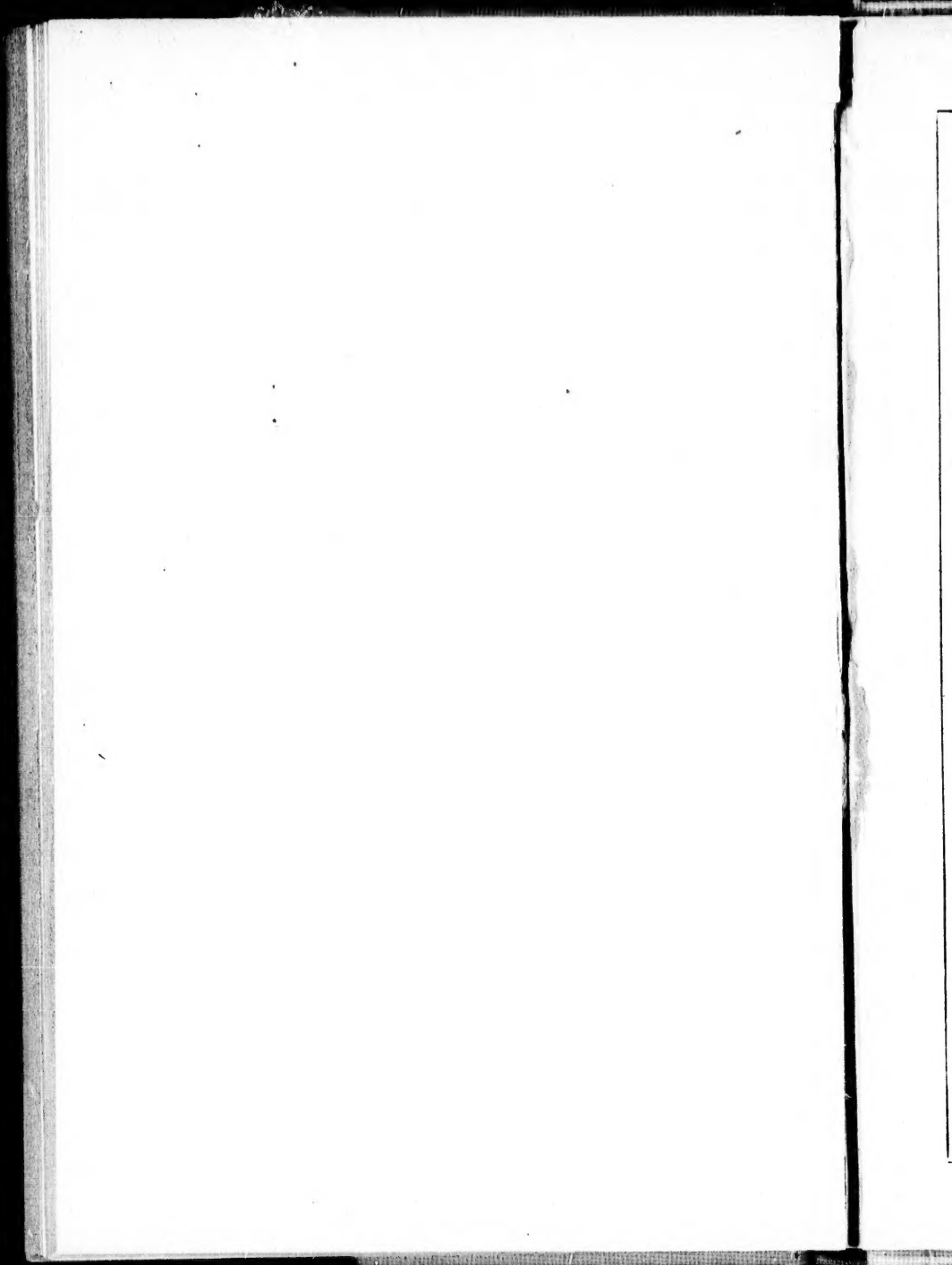
On the other hand, it is obviously necessary that the Universities should stand perfectly clear of political party. This is the indispensable condition of their intellectual freedom, and of their national position and usefulness. Their representation in Parliament, the well-meant but silly gift of King James I., is not only an anomaly, no other intellectual or professional interest being so represented, but it is, under the guise of a privilege, a real curse. In the case of Oxford the representation has constantly placed the University in a position of subserviency to a political faction, and of antagonism to the nation. It has drawn men devoted to education from their proper duties, and the proper objects of their ambition, to the occupations of electioneering and place-hunting; and familiarized them with practices in which, once embarked, they sometimes leave ordinary electioneering agents behind. The evil was not so great while the understanding, giving a Member for the University of Oxford a seat for life, was respected: but now that this understanding has been broken through by the violence of a party and personal antipathy, and that contested elections have become frequent, the consequence is a standing party organization, which makes us feel in Academical as well as in political contests an influence not only

injurious but degrading to the University. A University which does its duty and attaches the youth of the upper class to it by the bond of gratitude will always be sufficiently, perhaps more than sufficiently, represented in the House of Commons.

Oxford was once a University not of England but of Christendom; our students going freely to Continental Universities, those of Continental Universities coming to ours, and learned men of all countries finding themselves everywhere at home. The disruption of Christendom made Universities exclusively national. The nations of Europe are gradually becoming reunited, not on the religious, but on the intellectual and commercial side; and this reunion can hardly fail in time to extend, as every man of liberal mind must desire that it may extend, to the Academical sphere. Perhaps it is not out of the question even that some distant day may see learned Europe reunited by a common language. The Colonial and the American Universities lie nearer to us at present than those of Europe; and, if a liberal course be pursued, Colonists and even Americans may possibly be attracted here for that high cultivation which it is almost impossible that a new country should at once afford. In spite of all causes of estrangement between the nations, the heart of every cultivated American still warms towards the historic Universities of his race. But in this brief tract, the object of which is limited and practical, I deal with our policy not with our aspirations.

Even of our policy, the policy of our immediate future, let me say once more, in conclusion, that the part which can be distinctly forecast and set down at once in writing is small. Men, able men, acting singly in the interest of the University, scanning with a clear and steady eye the circumstances of a time full of change, open to the rational influences of the age, yet self-reliant enough to keep their feet in a strong current of temporary opinion, are the one great need of the University. Unless a serious effort is made to put such men at the head of affairs, the multiplication of paper schemes of University Reform, in which mere visions mingle with proposals more or less practical, or even legislation itself, whether Parliamentary or Academical, will never make Oxford what every one who has long and affectionately studied her history, her resources, and her opportunities, and who understands what the feeling of the nation towards her is, must well know that she might be.

GOLDWIN SMITH.



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